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# ARCHAEOLOGY

BY

**JAMES RIGNALL WHEELER**

PROFESSOR OF GREEK ARCHAEOLOGY AND ART  
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

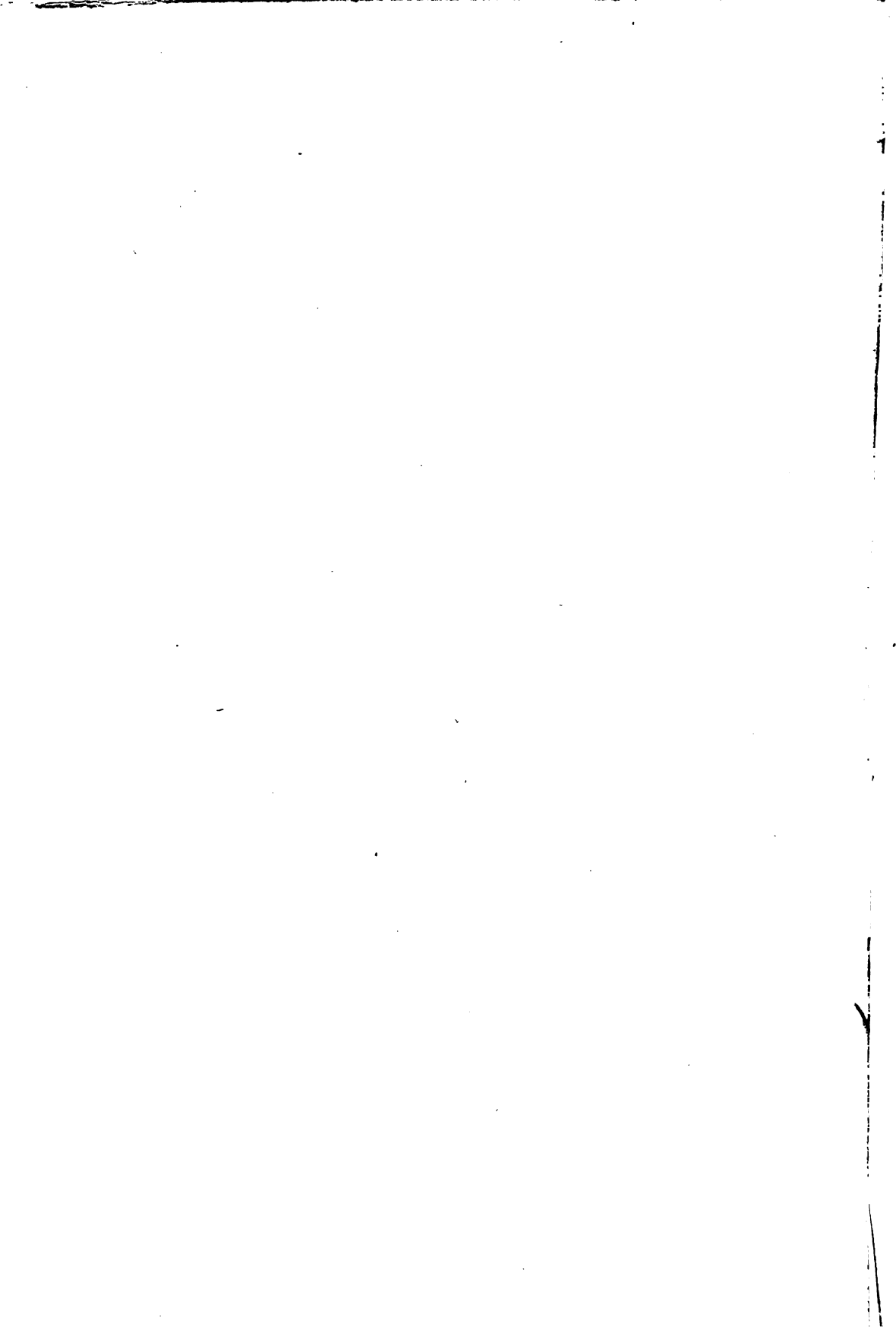
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# **ARCHAEOLOGY**

**A LECTURE DELIVERED AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY  
IN THE SERIES ON SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY AND ART  
JANUARY 8, 1908**





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# ARCHAEOLOGY

IF any layman were to ask a number of archaeologists to give, on the spur of the moment, a definition of archaeology, I suspect that such a person might find the answers rather confusing. He would, perhaps, sympathize with Socrates who, when he hoped to learn from the poets and artisans something about the arts they practised, was forced to go away with the conviction that, though they might themselves be able to accomplish something, they certainly could give no clear account to others of what they were trying to do. If one considers some of the current definitions of archaeology, one finds them often so inclusive that the great subject of history seems forced into a subordinate position, or else history may seem to differ from archaeology only in the fact that it may treat of present events, while archaeology deals with the past. Thus one of the greatest classical archaeologists of the last generation, the late Sir Charles Newton, defines archaeology as the scientific study of the human past, and describes its three-fold subject matter as oral, written and monumental. Such a definition is of course enormously inclusive and, as might be expected, it has hardly found general acceptance. As archaeological study has advanced, the tendency has been to confine its subject matter to the material remains of man's past—material remains being thought of as a sort of antithesis to literary remains, or written documents, which fall specifically within the domain of history. There must, how-

ever, often be cases where a written record bears so close a relation to a material monument of the past as to become wholly archaeological in character, and, on the other hand, there may be material monuments which are so closely bound up with the history of a people that they cannot be thought of as separate from that history. So a general definition is rather apt to break down when it comes to details and we have to be content with some inexactness. Such a state of affairs is pretty sure to arise in connection with any subject which deals specifically with man's varied social activities, and the material objects which result from his activities will naturally be as varied as the activities themselves. It is indeed an old question whether we ought to call such subjects as archaeology and history sciences at all, since they do not admit of the logical analysis which we like to associate with the term. There seems, however, no great gain in so limiting the connotation of the word "science," and at any rate archaeology and history may certainly be studied scientifically.

For practical purposes, then, we may accept such a definition of archaeology as has been given in Hogarth's "Authority and Archaeology," namely that it is the "science of the treatment of the material remains of the human past." But even such a definition assigns to the subject an enormous domain, and we at once see that it must inevitably be broken up into innumerable specialties. In the first place, there are the ethnic divisions in bewildering variety. Among primitive peoples, even when they may dwell in different parts of the earth, the study of archaeology may take on a not very dissimilar character, though, on the other hand, climate and race often introduce great variety. But when a people has reached a rather high state of civilization, as the Egyptians, for example, and the Greeks did, the situation is very different. Here we are confronted with all the complexity which comes from elab-

orate social organization and high artistic development, and this organization and development will assume different forms of course, in accordance with determining conditions of race, inheritance and history. We may say that a person who is studying the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona and one who is studying some problem in Athenian life of the fifth or fourth century B.C. are both working at archaeology, but it is obvious that their activities are of a very different nature. The archaeology of the one stands very close to anthropology, that of the other to the history of an advanced civilization and art. Such contrasts in the nature of the study suggest the two-fold direction which it naturally takes, according as it is concerned with peoples that are known through the medium of literature and history, or with such as have left behind them only the unwritten records of their art or handicraft. In the latter case, archaeology is of course a much more independent branch of learning than in the former, but its conclusions would naturally often be much strengthened, if they could be supported or corrected by the evidence of written documents; in the former case, it becomes more or less a branch of history, in proportion to the extent and the definiteness of the knowledge which the written records furnish. The archaeology of primitive peoples naturally deals with social conditions that involve no written records, but there are instances where we are forced to gain our conception of highly developed civilizations almost entirely through the material remains which survive them. The study of Egypt is an example of archaeological work of this kind, for its written records are of course chiefly supplementary in character.

It is interesting to contrast the conception which is formed of the civilization of ancient Egypt with that which may be had of ancient Greece where archaeological study goes hand in hand with the extensive knowledge that

comes from written history and from a great literature. In spite of the enormous amount of archaeological material in Egypt, the idea which can be gained of the life of the ancient Egyptians seems shadowy and external to us in the absence of extended written records. We may see evidence of dynastic changes, of an all-powerful hierarchy, of attempted religious reforms, of the management of great agricultural estates in the Nile valley, and we may know with astonishing minuteness the material implements and setting of everyday life, but we do not know that life in any really sympathetic way. Its thoughts, its ideals, its strivings are lost to us in the lapse of centuries. With Greece, on the other hand, it is very different. Archaeologically it is certainly not better known to us than Egypt, but we may go with the Greek into his political assemblies, to his law-courts and his market-place, to his theatre and his athletic games. We can hear him talk of his art and his religion and his poetry. In other words we can know him in almost the way that we may know a contemporary civilization.

I shall have more to say about the part that archaeology plays in the vivid picture we get of Greece, but just now I merely want to emphasize the difference between the type of the study when it is concerned with a people that has left written records, and with one that has not done so—between the independent archaeology and that which is a branch of history.

It is, however, not solely through differences in race and inheritance, or by reason of the different stages of man's advancement in civilization, or because of the presence or absence of written records, that the nature of archaeological study tends to vary so greatly. When any one civilization is sufficiently advanced to become complex, its archaeological records naturally grow so varied that the study of them branches out in very different directions, and hence



tends to become specialized, even within the boundaries of the civilization itself. To investigate the various domestic arrangements in a Mycenaean palace or the drainage of a house in Pompeii is a work the quality of which is different from an investigation that brings the student into contact with the development of higher forms of artistic expression. It is not only that an aesthetic element enters at this point into the study; there is also a higher intellectual quality in it. I would not seem to belittle at all the humbler material affairs of life through which the great body of archaeological knowledge must be built up. Under any truly scientific ideal, all these things must be studied in minute detail, for though they may have little inherent importance, they are of great value in rendering our conception of a past civilization real and sympathetic; but they are subordinate facts. When, however, the student is brought into contact with the artistic products of some gifted people, the subjects at which he works do have an importance that is inherent, and it is when archaeology takes this direction that it is of real educational value. It becomes the foundation for the history of art, and passes imperceptibly into this latter subject. This is the kind of archaeology which has its centres of study chiefly in universities and museums, though it of course ultimately owes its existence and much of its progress to the worker in the field.

This fact upon which I have thus far laid such special emphasis, namely the very diverse character of archaeological study, will, I hope, make it plain that no ordinary individual could possibly discuss the details of the science as a whole with any real authority. Certainly I cannot attempt to do so, and I shall therefore confine myself from now on to a presentation of some phases of Greek archaeology which, though they will of course relate to a single ethnic division of the science, may nevertheless be thought

of as somewhat typical of the whole. Apart, however, from the obvious necessity of discussing the portions of a subject which fall within the range of one's knowledge, Greek archaeology is a good branch to choose because of its unusual diversity. There are few types of archaeological study which may not find illustration within its ample range.

In the prehistoric period, which includes the so-called Mycenaean civilization with its Aegean and, in Crete, Minoan background reaching well into neolithic times, we have the type of archaeology which is not assisted by written records. To be sure, written characters, hieroglyphic and linear, on seals and clay tablets, were known during a portion of this time, but even if they are eventually deciphered, they could not do more than throw some light on the other archaeological evidence, as is the case with the written records of the Egyptians. Thus the archaeology of this early time in Greek lands is of the independent kind, and some of its problems belong to the anthropologist. After the Mycenaean civilization passes away, about the twelfth century B.C., there succeeds a period when the art is more primitive than that of the Mycenaeans and is characterized by certain marked schemes of geometric decoration. It appears to be a time of much migration among tribes and of a considerable mixing up of the various elements which became more or less closely amalgamated in the rise of the Greek people. In this so-called "Geometric" period we are still in the domain of prehistoric archaeology, for not till its close, which we may place roughly in the eighth century B.C., do we begin to get written records and to see the dawn of the literature of historic Greece. The rise of the Greek Epic, to be sure, goes back farther than this time and the origin of its traditions is probably to be found in the Mycenaean period. I shall allude to this question again; it need not detain us now.

With the close, then, of the "Geometric" period we come to the time when history and literature begin to play an increasingly important rôle in the forming of our conception of Greek civilization. Archaeology is no longer independent, but it does serve to make our idea of Greek life vastly clearer, as I hope to be able to show. It now tends, in accordance with the high artistic gifts of the Greeks, to merge itself in the history of art, a union which of course becomes practically complete where the highest manifestations of Greek art are concerned. Thus the different forms of archaeological study are very fully illustrated in Greek lands.

Let me now seek in a somewhat general way to point out how our conception of ancient Greek civilization has been made clearer by archaeological study, and after that I will give a few definite examples, chosen from the whole field, which may serve to make the general view somewhat clearer. I should be glad, did the time allow, to give an account of the interesting and picturesque history of this branch of Greek study, but I can merely touch upon this point.

The beginning reaches as far back as the journeys in the Levant of Cyriac of Ancona, who visited the Florentine Duke of Athens in the fifteenth century, and we may trace the growth of the study through the establishment in Greece of the French missionaries, Jesuit and Capuchin, and through the work of many travellers, chiefly French and English, who gradually spread abroad a knowledge of the monuments in western Europe. Toward the close of the seventeenth century came the melancholy bombardment of Athens and the destruction of the Parthenon by the troops of the Westphalian Graf von Königsmarck, who was in the employ of the Venetian Republic, then at war with the Turks, for the latter were at that time in possession of Athens. The officers brought back to their homes accounts of what they saw, some of which were illustrated



by their sketches, and this again served to spread a knowledge of Greece. Curiosity to see the country grew, and in the eighteenth century there were more travellers, among whom Stuart, a Scotchman, and Revett, an Englishman, hold the first place, for they stayed many months in Athens and brought back with them drawings, which, though they were not published till many years afterward, were the first actual demonstration to western Europe of the magnificence of the Greek remains. In this same eighteenth century, Winckelmann was laying the foundations for the study of Greek art by his theoretic work, so that early in the last century the scholars of Europe had begun to long for original specimens of Greek sculpture which might take the place in the study of art of the Roman copies in Italian museums. The interest of private collectors, already of course awakened, then grew apace, with the result that valuable antiques were gradually gathered together, especially in England, and these have now in many cases passed into the possession of museums. Then came the revelation of the Elgin marbles, which were not bought for the British Museum till some time after they had reached England. To a modern student it is amazing to think of the testimony before the Parliamentary committee which decided on their purchase. Nothing can show more clearly the lack there was up to that time of any real knowledge of Greek originals. As soon as a clear conception of the art of the Phidian period was gained through these wonderful marbles, they became a kind of central point from which archaeologists could build up an idea of the course of the sculptor's art in Greece both backward and forward. Thus by the middle of the last century everything was ready for the great excavations which have been the characteristic of the past fifty years and which have created the splendid museums of Athens, Olympia and Delphi, and have enriched those of western Eu-

rope and of our own country, not only with many fine specimens of sculpture, but also with no less interesting and important examples of the industrial art of the Greeks. Finally, what is perhaps historically the most picturesque feature in the growth of Greek archaeology, and in itself an amazing fact, the leading nations of the world, France, Germany, our own country through leading universities and colleges, England through friends of Hellenic study, and Austria, have made Athens once more a university town by the establishment there of national archaeological schools.

From this brief historical digression I will now return to consider first very generally how our conception of Greek civilization has been changed by the growth of archaeological study. It has of course been commonly recognized that in the work of the Greeks are to be found the beginnings of nearly every branch of intellectual activity in the western world, and that they in large measure marked out the categories in which this activity has shown itself. If we want an example from very near home, it is only necessary to call attention to the extraordinarily Platonic method of thought which characterized the first of this series of lectures. The world of scholars has certainly not failed to acknowledge its debt to Greece. But along with this ample acknowledgement, there grew up among persons less well-informed, a popular conception of the ancient Greeks, and this conception, which has been singularly widespread, is very inconsistent with the view that they could have made any large contribution to the spiritual life of mankind. Professor Gilbert Murray, in a recently published lecture, has described most concisely this popular and perverted view to be "a conception of Hellenism as representing some easy-going half animal form of life, untroubled by conscience or ideals, or duties, and the Greeks as a gay, unconscious, hedonistic race, possessing the some-

what superficial merits of extreme good looks and a mythically fine climate." "There is no reason," Professor Murray continues, "to suppose the Greeks miraculously handsome, any more than to suppose that there is no dirty weather in the Aegean." It need not now concern us how this false idea arose or whether Professor Murray is right, as he very likely is, in believing that it grew up through the attribution to the Greeks by ascetic Christian apologists of qualities which afforded an antithesis to their own views and which they erroneously made synonymous with "Paganism." It seems to be one of those perverted notions which often appear in history to obscure our vision of the truth. However that may be, this false view of the Greeks has existed, and one of the things which is putting an end to it, or which has already done so, is the more vivid conception of ancient Greece that archaeology has brought. The setting of our former picture has become much more complete. When one is able to see the products of a civilization in large mass face to face, to become familiar not only with the works of its greater minds, but with those of its humble handicraftsmen as well, one may enter so fully and with such sympathy into the life of the people as to be pretty effectually protected against false and one-sided judgments about them. To take but a single example: Within recent years a large number of sepulchral monuments have been uncovered which have been well published in an extensive *corpus*. It would indeed be a person of dull imagination who could go through the halls of the museum at Athens, where there is an extensive series of these monuments, or who could study the reproductions of the *corpus*, without having a lively sense of that kinship which we all feel in the presence of human sorrow.

There has been, too, another mistaken view of the Greeks, not this time ethical in purport, which has tended to make them seem exceptional in their development, and thus to

stand rather apart from other men. This is the idea of a very sudden efflorescence of their art in all its perfection, not at all after the manner of most human things. Archaeology, however, has shown that the growth of artistic skill, though no doubt rapid, was not abnormally so, and the view which reason should formerly have shown to be the true one is now not open to question.

It would be possible, of course, to pursue this line of thought much further, but it will better meet the present need, I think, if I turn to the consideration of a few of the more important examples of recent development in Greek archaeology, and try to show briefly what their scientific significance is. Such a presentation may, I hope, serve to illustrate, at least by implication, some of the general views that have been expressed, and may suggest more concretely the typical quality of Greek archaeological work.

The beginning is of course naturally to be made with the prehistoric time. The study here has taken on a scientific character comparatively recently, since until Schliemann's excavations the requisite material for study was not at hand. I will not dwell upon the picturesque and interesting incidents in this remarkable man's career, which led him to begin his famous work at Hissarlik with the idea of finding the Homeric Troy. It is easy to smile now at the unscientific character of some of his ideas, but there is nothing to excite anything except admiration when one marks the progress in the quality of his work, and sees his abounding enthusiasm and energy and the large-minded way in which he sought the best advice and help he could get. He certainly found Troy—or a place corresponding to it—though his first interpretation of the excavations was mistaken, and he opened the wonderful graves at Mycenae which amazed the world with their wealth of gold. Later in his work he had the wisdom and good fortune to avail

himself of the coöperation of Professor Wilhelm Dörpfeld, who with consummate skill has continued and perfected the work which Schliemann began. Tiryns too was soon uncovered, with results that were architecturally of especial importance, and the excavations at Hissarlik, which had really never been dropped, were continued further. There was a difficulty in the fact that the objects found at Mycenae did not correspond with those found in the second stratum of the Hissarlik excavations, which Schliemann had believed to be the Homeric Troy. The trouble was soon cleared up, though Schliemann did not live to know the conclusion of the whole matter. The so-called sixth city at Hissarlik, a larger and more important settlement, turned out to be the one which corresponded with the excavations at Mycenae and Tiryns. Schliemann's work has been continued by Dörpfeld and by the Greek Archaeological Society, chiefly under the direction of Tsountas, and thus gradually a large amount of material to illustrate what has come to be called the Mycenaean civilization has been gathered together. Many lesser sites were explored, and it became evident that this civilization extended very generally over the mainland of Greece. Such, in brief, has been the first stage in the investigation of prehistoric Greece.

The second stage will always be associated with the island of Crete and with the name of Dr. Arthur Evans, though many others have had a hand in the work, notably an able company of Italian archaeologists, the British School at Athens, the English archaeologist, Mr. D. G. Hogarth, our own country-woman, Miss Boyd, now Mrs. Hawes, and some others.

Until recently the island of Crete, which appears to have been the chief centre of the Mycenaean civilization, was politically in too unsettled a condition for very extended archaeological work. This, however, did not prevent Dr.

Evans from studying it, and largely through his great knowledge of the small objects, especially the gems, which illustrate the early art of the Aegean, and which have been found in many places, he was led to form conclusions in regard to the probable results of excavation in Crete, which, now that they have been abundantly confirmed, are seen to constitute an extraordinary example of archaeological penetration. Dr. Evans' excavations at Cnosus, near Candia, are the most extensive that have thus far been prosecuted in Crete, but those of the Italians are extremely important also, and they have yielded some of the most interesting specimens of Mycenaean objects. The excavations at Cnosus, however, have revealed a very long chronological sequence, which appears to begin as early as the earlier Egyptian dynasties, toward the beginning, that is, of the fourth millennium B.C., unless indeed a still earlier dynastic dating be accepted. The changes in Cretan art can be traced from this point down to the close of the Mycenaean time, that is, till about the end of the second millennium B.C. To the Greek archaeologist it is the objects which belong to this second millennium that have the most immediate interest, because of their relation to Mycenaean art, but those which are to be dated earlier are of the highest importance to a knowledge of that which lies back of the Mycenaean period. It has already been said that Schliemann found settlements at Hissarlik beneath the one which proved to be the Troy of Mycenaean times, and evidence of this primitive culture has for years past been turning up in the islands of the Aegean. Just now similar phenomena are appearing on the Greek mainland, notably under the ruins of Mycenaean Tiryns, so that a primitive archaeology of the Aegean region is slowly developing. But this is a matter which I must pass by.

The view which archaeologists are at present inclined to take with reference to the Mycenaean civilization is that

one of its greatest centres, probably its greatest centre, was in Crete, and that a period in its course of great influence and power is to be associated with the King Minos who becomes an important figure in later Greek legend. Whether the civilization spread directly from Crete to outlying regions is still a matter for discussion. It was important in Sicily, and its influence reached to far-off Spain, which in its bull-fights appears still to hark back to a favorite Mycenaean sport. Some students of the prehistoric archaeology of northern Europe believe indeed that this Mycenaean influence may be traced far northward into the continent. The regions, however, that were close at hand must have felt this influence most strongly. Thus to understand the ethnic and artistic relations in which this early civilization stands to the Greece of later times is all-important to the Greek archaeologist.

The art of the Mycenaean civilization was in some directions of a very fully developed type. In architecture we find exceedingly elaborate structures, especially in Crete, where the palaces of the chieftains were unfortified, presumably because their owners controlled the seas. On the mainland, the palace at Tiryns shows most distinctly the type of the fortified residence, and here we approach a good deal more closely to the plan of a chieftain's house as it appears in the *Odyssey*. It is clear enough that these residences were often splendidly adorned and were arranged for a life of considerable comfort. Wall paintings of high decorative merit have been found, excellent relief-work in plaster and fine carving in stone, but it is above all the objects of minor art which excite our admiration. Some of the work in gold, silver and bronze has perhaps never been surpassed, and great skill, too, is shown in the relief work on some of the stone vases, and in the carving of ivory and gems. In pottery, too, there is very high development, and great variety, with extremely clever use of

plant forms and of some marine animals in the decorative schemes. A linear script which takes the place of an earlier hieroglyphic writing was known, but it has not yet been deciphered. In general it may be said that the Mycenaean art shows some oriental and especially Egyptian influence, but in the main its character is singularly independent, and it is often startlingly modern, much more so than the Greek art of the classic period. When the human face is represented, it is neither Egyptian nor Semitic in type, and the individuality of the faces is strongly marked. To me it seems that great emphasis should be laid on this tendency to mark the individual. The importance of the individual man is one of the leading social facts of Greek civilization, and one of the features which distinguishes it from the characteristic civilizations of the East. Thus when the differences between the art of Greece and that of the Mycenaeans are emphasized, it is well to keep this fundamental resemblance in mind.

But what is the origin and what are the ethnic relations of this gifted people which has so recently been made known to us? This is a question now being eagerly asked, but as yet it has not been answered. If the writing on seals and clay tablets shall be deciphered, we are likely to know a good deal more than we do now. At present the whole matter is involved in the conflicting traditions regarding the various tribes and peoples which had their homes in Greece before the inhabitants came to be known as Hellenes, for, if anything is certain, it is that the Greeks of historic times were a mixture of various different peoples. The problem becomes closely linked with the intricate question of the origin of the Homeric poems, since in them we have a picture of the heroic, or Achaean civilization which furnishes the background for so much of Greek legendary history. More specifically, the question presents itself to us in this form: Is the Mycenaean art and civilization suf-



ficiently like the art and civilization depicted in the Homeric poems to warrant us in practically identifying the two civilizations? It is not surprising that archaeologists should often disagree in such a matter, and of course the extraordinarily difficult critical problem of the unity of the Homeric picture is also involved. Is it a single picture that the poems give us, or is it a picture of earlier times complicated by the contemporary influence of the poet's surroundings or by the play of his own fancy? Clearly there is plenty of chance for a difference of opinion, and two marked tendencies are observable. The one would emphasize the differences between Homeric art and that of the Mycenaean civilization, the other the resemblances between the two. As matters stand to-day, the view that the Homeric poems reflect in the main the civilization of the Mycenaean period is the prevailing one. The differences, it is thought, may generally be explained by the fact that the poems originated at a later time, and that the picture they give has been somewhat modified by changing customs. Thus the society of the poems has a somewhat more democratic stamp than we should naturally associate with the Mycenaean civilization, and the connection between the Homeric conception of the gods and the religious ideas of the Mycenaean civilization, so far as we can form an idea of them, is not yet clear. Apparently the muse who inspires the poet is a very complicated personality. Emphasize as we will the unity of the poems in their present form, there is still very strong evidence that they are not chronologically homogeneous in all their parts, and this fact must of course warn us to expect a lack of unity in the picture they afford.

When it is sought to associate the Mycenaean remains with one or other of the various peoples or tribes which appear in the Homeric poems and in other Greek tradition, we are face to face with a somewhat different phase of the

problem. For Homer, the Achaeans are the leading race, but we have in Greek tradition conflicting accounts of Pelasgians who were very likely earlier. Homer knows, too, of other races, and in Crete he enumerates many tribes. But so long as we lack the knowledge to form any clear conception of the qualities of these different races, there is no great scientific gain in identifying one or the other with the Mycenaeans. It is always possible, moreover, and very likely, that this wonderful art grew up in the gradual union of tribes of different stock. So, to solve the problem, we must wait for more light.

The relation of Mycenaean art to that of later Greece may, however, be traced in a more distinctly archaeological way, a way that does not involve the uncertainties of vague literary traditions. Here the question is: How far can the influence of Mycenaean design be traced in later art? I have already said that, when this great civilization passed away, at the end of the second millennium B.C., it was succeeded by a period in which artistic design was based chiefly on geometric forms. The art of this period is far less advanced, and we have what has been called the time of the Greek "Dark Ages." Some movement of peoples, very likely the so-called Dorian invasion, put an end to the power of the Mycenaean chieftains, and to the art that their civilization produced; then there was gradually developed an art, ruder in character, which had its basis in the geometric designs that are common enough among all primitive peoples. In other words the geometric art is the outgrowth of a peasant style, a *Bauernstil*, as the Germans call it. In this may be traced some remains of Mycenaean influence, enough, probably, to show that the traditions of that civilization were not quite lost, though investigations in the matter are by no means complete. Another and probably stronger support for this connection between Mycenaean art and that of later Greece lies in the early

art of Ionia, where it would seem that Mycenaean elements have been somewhat more directly preserved. As yet, however, we know comparatively little of the early Ionic remains, and their further discovery and investigation is one of the most important problems in Greek archaeology. To the work, then, of the Greeks of Asia Minor we must look for light on this point, and indeed this region of the Greek world has in many ways become the land of promise for the archaeologist. To take but a single instance: in the Greek art of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. there are many oriental elements. Where do they come from? Very likely through Lydia and Cappadocia, but the early art of these countries is still very imperfectly known.

This very scant outline of some of the problems which are now before students of prehistoric Greece, must, I fear, suffice for the present purpose, and I will next pass on to consider the results of a typical excavation of the historic period. The work of the Greeks on the Acropolis at Athens during the decade between 1880 and 1890 seems a good example to choose, because of its bearing not only upon the history of sculpture, but also upon that of architecture and upon some of the minor forms of Greek art.

As has already been remarked, through the bringing of the Elgin marbles to London a definite conception of the Phidian art—that is, of the art of Greek sculpture in Attica about the middle of the fifth century B.C.—was gained. Of the earlier development of Athenian art there was practically no knowledge, though some other parts of Greece, notably Aegina, certain regions of Ionia, and Olympia, had yielded sculpture which was clearly earlier in date than the marbles of the Parthenon. Did not Attic art also pass through an archaic stage? There were, to be sure, a few isolated specimens of the early art of Attica, like the figure popularly known as the “Marathonian Soldier,” but these could not be dated with any certainty, and they seemed to

stand unrelated to the subsequent period. In architecture the Parthenon, Propylaea, and Erechtheum of course afforded a good idea of fifth century work, but we knew nothing of the stages through which the art had passed before reaching the perfection of form which these ruins show. In ceramics, archaeologists were even more at sea, and archaic looking vases which showed red figures on a dark ground, the scheme of color that follows the system known as black-figured, were dated well on in the fifth century B.C., in spite of their archaic character. This may seem a slight matter, but to the archaeologist a correct chronology of vases is all-important, since in excavation, the potsherds are often, are indeed commonly, the indication of date. Such, then, in general, was the state of our knowledge—or ignorance—about Attic art, when the excavations on the Acropolis began. From the Greek historians, however, this fact was known, namely, that when Xerxes invaded Greece in 480 B.C. the Persians, just before the battle of Salamis, captured Athens and destroyed the monuments on the Acropolis. Presumably, therefore, the excavators would find at least some record of the art which preceded the Phidian epoch, and it would be fair to assume that objects found in the rubbish used to level the surface of the hill for the builders of the fifth century would be correctly dated at least before 480 B.C. The results of the excavations exceeded the fondest hopes of the archaeologists. A large series of sculptures was found illustrating the art of the Athenians from the beginning of the sixth century B.C., and possibly from a slightly earlier date. Some of these formed pedimental groups and thus showed the existence of several temples much earlier than those that were known. Many architectural fragments were found which have gradually disclosed their meaning, and even to-day students are at work on the remains and are constantly making additions to our knowledge. It would be difficult

to exaggerate the importance of these excavations to an understanding of Greek art. The historical relation of many monuments was at once made clear, and a definite impression of the Athenian art of the sixth century B.C. was created, analogous to that which the Elgin marbles had created for the fifth. Many inscriptions and some important objects in bronze were discovered, and the finding of red-figured vases in the pre-Persian rubbish established the fact that much too late a date had been given for the beginning of the style. Some of the discoveries had also an important mythological bearing, for many of the objects found are related to Athenian legend and cult. Not only is it now possible to know much of several temples on the Acropolis which existed a century and more before the Parthenon, but it has also been revealed that the height was once a stronghold in Mycenaean times, and had, like Tiryns, its chieftain's palace, to which a passage in the *Odyssey* appears to make reference. It is impossible to indicate in a few words the far-reaching scientific and artistic importance of such excavations as these; they throw light in so many ways, not only upon questions immediately before the excavators, but also upon the problems of excavations in other regions. The discoveries, for example, on the Acropolis of early sculptures have an important bearing upon similar finds in the more recent excavations at Delphi.

The next example of recent archaeological progress I will take from ceramics, one of the most important of the various branches of Greek industrial art. I shall confine my remarks to the vases alone, though of course the subject includes all work in moulded clay, and consequently the beautiful and interesting figurines about which there has been so much talk in recent years.

The scientific study of vases is comparatively new, in spite of the fact that the older museums of Europe have

for a long time possessed large collections. The subject is a difficult one, since it includes products which differ greatly in style, and the reciprocal influence of the various styles is still in many cases imperfectly understood. Until rather recently the best known classes of these vases, both black and red-figured, were indiscriminately called Etruscan, and even to-day one sometimes hears this term popularly applied to them. We now know, however, that comparatively few of them are really Etruscan, and these of inferior quality; although found in Italy, they are for the most part Greek and to a large extent Athenian. It is the excavations of recent years, like those on the Athenian Acropolis, which have made a scientific study of this branch of Greek archaeology possible. So long as the vases were known merely in museums, and the records of their discovery were either wanting entirely or were very defective, no progress could be made. Now archaeologists are able to work in the light, since many vases found actually on Greek soil, and in many different localities, have made the scientific classification of museum specimens possible.

Apart from the importance of vases in furnishing chronological clues to the excavator, and apart from the actual beauty of the best specimens, they are of uncommon interest as throwing light, not only upon the major art of painting among the Greeks, of which we know little, but also upon mythology. This comes from the fact that it was the habit of the vase decorators to choose the subjects that they represented from the rich store of Greek legend. The greater painters chose their subjects from the same source, and so it is to the vases that we must chiefly look in trying to form some conception of the work of these painters, which we know of otherwise only through literary tradition. Certain Attic vases, for example, dating from about the middle of the fifth century B.C., apparently throw much light upon the school of the great artist

Polygnotus. The relation of vase paintings to the Greek epic, the storehouse of legend, is analogous. Countless scenes taken from the popular mythology are represented on the vases. Sometimes they are quite in accord with literary tradition, again they reveal interesting variants from this tradition, and not infrequently a vase may show some form of a legend not otherwise known. The vase painter, however, did not work solely in the atmosphere of mythological tradition; he often chose subjects from everyday life. The school-room, the palaestra, the symposium, the boat-race, the ceremonies of marriage and death, and other everyday events furnish him material; there is in Boston an interesting *amphora* upon which a scene representing a woman being measured for a pair of shoes is painted. Taken all in all, there is perhaps no department of Greek archaeology which illustrates more plainly than vase painting does the light such study may throw upon a past civilization. The fact that it was a comparatively humble occupation, carried on by handicraftsmen, only makes it seem to draw us the nearer to the popular tradition and life.

I pass on now to the subject of inscriptions, a far-reaching topic, for the Greeks, and especially the Athenians, followed the practice of engraving records on stone to an extent that seems almost inconceivable. Treaties, law-codes, public decrees of all sorts, provisions for religious observance, temple records, records of Aesculapian cures, reports of commissions and of the expenditure of money, architectural specifications, dedications of offerings, records of literary and gymnastic contests, epitaphs—in short, almost every direction that human activity takes seems to find expression in inscriptions. This, of course, means that they should be considered as a department of archaeology only so far as their content bears upon matters which fall within the limits of this subject. I will choose, to

illustrate the archaeological character of some inscriptions, two examples which show the service they may render the student of Greek architecture. The first has to do with the temple on the Acropolis known as the Erechtheum, and under the following circumstances: In the year 409 B.C., this little temple, which has played so important a rôle in the architectural history of the western world, was apparently in an unfinished condition. Probably the long Peloponnesian war had put a stop to the work upon it. However that may be, the Athenian government decided to appoint a commission, which was required to make an exact report with reference to the condition of the building. This was done apparently very carefully, for we have the commission's report engraved on stone. It begins with these words, "We found the following parts unfinished," and then these parts are specified in a long list, and measurements are given. A year later the work had been done, and it was necessary to have an account of expenses, so another long inscription was prepared giving in detail the sums of money which had been paid out to the workmen for specific pieces of work. In both inscriptions there is of course incidental mention of many different portions of the temple. Now, about four years ago, the Greek authorities determined to carry out some repairs upon the ruins of the Erechtheum, so that at least their further decay might be arrested, and this work led to a very careful study of the scattered architectural fragments which could be assigned to the building. The time seemed propitious for a new publication of the temple, since all the existing studies of it are very inadequate, and the officers of our own School at Athens decided to undertake the work. Elaborate and very beautiful drawings have already been made by Mr. Gorham Stevens, of the office of McKim, Mead and White, while he was Fellow in Architecture at the School, and the careful archaeological study of the ruins is now going for-



ward. One of the important features of this study is the exact editing of these inscriptions which, in spite of the mutilated condition of some portions of them, have a great deal to tell of parts of the building now in ruins. Thus, in getting at the significance of the scattered architectural members, they are often of the highest importance, and never until now has it been possible to study them carefully in the light of a complete knowledge of the remains of the temple.

The second example of an important archaeological inscription is one from the year 842 B.C.; it concerns a naval arsenal that was to be built at the Piraeus. The inscription, which has hardly an illegible word in it, is headed, "Report (which here means specifications) of the stone storehouse for ship's tackle." There were apparently two commissioners, Euthydomus and Philo, of whom the latter was a well-known architect, and the storehouse now goes by the name of the "Arsenal of Philo." No vestige of this building remains, but so careful are the specifications, which include measurements, that it has been possible to make complete drawings of the building. Only a very few minor matters of detail are open to dispute. It would be possible to give many other examples of the important archaeological bearing of inscriptions, but these instances are perhaps sufficient; they are, at any rate, characteristic.

In citing the foregoing typical examples of work in Greek archaeology I trust I shall not be thought to have attempted even an outline sketch of the general subject. Had this been my purpose, I must have made mention of several other important branches of the study. Bronze work, for example, and work in gold and silver, shows the characteristics of other forms and periods of Greek art, and it is of the highest value, both for its intrinsic merit and because it affords the student much suggestive material for comparison with other things. The same is true

also of the art of gem cutting (glyptics) which extends from Mycenaean times down. And above all there is the great subject of coins (numismatics) which is really a specialty by itself. To the Greek archaeologist its importance can hardly be exaggerated; coins furnish the student of history important data with reference to the commercial and political relations between different communities; they frequently throw light on political changes; the student of religion and art finds in them many types in the representation of deities; they often afford information about portraiture, and the Greek coins of the Roman period not infrequently bear representations of famous statues, and other celebrated monuments of bygone times. Furthermore, the extraordinary beauty of the best specimens of Greek coinage raises them to a high artistic level which makes most modern attempts in this direction seem poor indeed.

Inadequate as this hasty survey of a great subject must be, I hope at least it may have suggested the high importance of archaeology in the study of the growth of human civilization. As the material from various regions and countries accumulates, it will of course throw much light upon the mutual relations of different peoples. Almost every year of late has brought some new suggestion of this kind, and Asia Minor, one of the great meeting-places of East and West, has been comparatively little explored. In many prehistoric fields, where the anthropologist and archaeologist work hand in hand, new views of the earlier conditions and relations of human life on the earth continually appear. Archaeology is still in its infancy, but the time seems surely coming when the comparative study of former races and civilizations may be based, far more than is possible to-day, on a sound knowledge of their handicraft and art.





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